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**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA**
(Received in April 1984)

May 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss

PREFACE

This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in April 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be included when the work is received.

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AFGHANISTAN

US Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Hidden War: The Struggle for Afghanistan. Staff Report, 98th Congress, 2d session, 1984. 55 pp.

This report, by staff member John B Ritch, III, gives concise but detailed accounts of the resistance which followed the Taraki coup of 1978 ("Saur Revolution") and its escalation since then. There is a list of current leading mujahiddin. Three policy recommendations are made: development of an underground railroad to rescue Soviet prisoners held by the freedom fighters, increased United States coordination with the Islamic nations which already assist the mujahiddin, and US recognition of a government in exile. Notes current efforts to support the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and comments that the goal of aid is shifting away from stopgap humanitarian relief into longterm developmental projects. There is some risk that if the refugees remain on Pakistani soil, a Palestinian-type problem will evolve. This is a handy reference for practical information, with minimal theoretical baggage. (appendices, notes)

Thornton, Thomas Perry. "The USSR and Asia in 1983: Staying the Brezhnev Course." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (January 1984), p. 1.

Summarizes 1983's events as a continuation of Soviet attempts to avoid US encirclement on its Asian borders, a danger which was dramatized for Moscow by President Reagan's trip to Korea and Japan. The Soviets worked for better relations with China while increasingly criticizing Japan as an independent defense actor rather than "an American stooge." Thornton lists several gestures by which the Soviets demonstrated the importance they attach to India's ascendant position in their Asian security system, and emphasizes the decline which brought Soviet-Pakistani relations to their lowest point in 10 years. Thornton says the Soviets are doing little better than simply hanging on in Afghanistan, but probably did not expect any more than that. This article is a comprehensive and thought-provoking attempt to estimate Soviet perceptions in the region.

BANGLADESH

"All Change Again with Ershad." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, April 1984, p. 26.

President Ershad has announced plans to "Islamize" Bangladesh, an action which may be indicative more of political weakness than religious fervor. The article comments on possible effects of Islamization for Ershad's main

political opponents, including the recently legalized Jamaat-e-Islami. Other countries are also interested in this trend deployed by Bangladesh. New Delhi may object to rhetorical campaigns which threaten to arouse India's Muslim minority, while Middle Eastern nations may approve of the new orthodoxy from Dhaka. Arab states have been a growing source of aid for Bangladesh, and the new campaign may be intended to increase their largesse.

"Burma: Why Arakan's Promise Remains Unfulfilled." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, April 1984, p. 39.

This profile of the Muslim-majority Burmese state adjoining Bangladesh paints a bleak picture of the disparity existing between an area rich in resources and its impoverished people. The Muslims of Arakan attribute their underdevelopment to religious discrimination, and many fled into Bangladesh in 1978. Although the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees negotiated a repatriation agreement, the article contends the refugees had been pushed out by the Burmese government. The article supports Arakanese leaders' call for a boycott of Burma by all Muslim states.

Jain, R. K., ed. China-South Asian Relations, 1947-1980. Vol. 1: India, 1947-1980. New Delhi: Radiant, 1981. 680 pp.

Jain, R. K., ed. China-South Asian Relations, 1947-1980. Vol. 2: Pakistan, 1947-1965. The Kutch Conflict. Indo-Pak Conflict of 1965. Pakistan, 1966-1980. Bangladesh Crisis and Indo-Pak War of 1971. Bangladesh, 1972-1980. Nepal, 1950-1980. Sri Lanka, 1951-1980. New Delhi: Radiant, 1981. 680 pp.

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INDIA

Agrawal, M. D., and Mathur, B. L., eds. Public Enterprise in India. Jaipur: Ramesh Book Depot, 1982. 200 pp.

These 20 papers by various Indian authors discuss some of the key challenges confronting India's public sector, with special attention to inventory management and improved use of human potential. Several assumptions underlie the work: first, that Keynesian intervention by Western governments signals the failure of capitalism and is equivalent to public sector development from a theoretical point of view; second, that states are obligated to promote social goals such as increased employment and indigenous productivity. The volume includes examples of specific public corporations, including Air India and the national banks. (notes)

Bhardwaj, R. K. Parliamentary Democracy and Legislators. New Delhi: National, 1983. 182 pp.

Volume contains an uncritical idealization of the workings of India's parliamentary system. For the researcher seeking elementary information about passing bills, types of committees, veto strategies, and sociological background of legislators in the early 1980s, this is a handy reference. However, since there are no case studies which illustrate either the rules, or their exceptions, the work does not lend itself to more applied research. (appendices, index)

Chand, Attar. Nonaligned States: A Great Leap Forward--A Study in the New International Economic Order. Delhi: UDH, 1983. 302 pp.

Briefly recapitulates the birth of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), thoroughly condemns multinational corporations, and then launches into a panegyric of praise for the New International Economic Order. The second part of the book is an odd assortment of documents relating to the NAM, including, among others: "Iraq: A Positive Force," "Italy: Free Development," "Peru: Solving Problems" and "USSR: Peace to the Peoples of the World." No such titles mention the United Kingdom or the United States. The extensive bibliography of left-leaning sources, and the book itself can support research on the more pungent arguments made by developing countries during the North-South debate of the 1970s. (appendices, bibliography, tables)

Chawla, Prabha. "Changing Complexion." India Today, 15 April 1984, p. 18.

In the recent Rajya Sabha (upper house) elections, the ruling Congress-I used its power to reward individuals who had stood by Prime Minister Gandhi during her months out of power. Thus several Sanjay Youth stalwarts find themselves in a parliamentary body designed to be a seinecure for "elder statesmen." Neither Congress-I nor the opposition parties succeeded in uniting around specific candidates. The ruling party dispensed nominations through its central structure, while opposition contestants fought each other in more public arenas. A sidebar profiles some new Rajya Sabha members from Congress-I who have no previous electoral victories to their credit. Several were obliged to run from states where their backgrounds were unknown.

Correspondent, A. "Back on the Ground" Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 April 1984, p. 42.

Perhaps as a way of proving that India is not a puppet of the USSR, Mrs. Gandhi took the opportunity, during the recent visit of Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, to request the removal of a Soviet diplomat suspected in New Delhi of espionage activities. The Indian government kept the matter secret, but it was leaked to the press by an outsider claiming certain knowledge that the diplomat had tried to purloin a copy of a letter from Bangladeshi President H. M. Ershad to Gandhi. Questions are also circulating in the Lok Sabha about two Soviet trade officials who were executed for bribery following trips to India, and about East bloc diplomats now posted to New Delhi, after other countries had expelled them for espionage activities. The article is thought-provoking, not least because the writer and magazine have taken the unusual step of foregoing a byline.

Gupta, Shekhar. "Ominous Presence in Tamil Nadu." India Today, 31 March 1984, p. 88.

Article, which has been the subject of notoriety in both countries, attempts to document the assistance which Sri Lanka's Tamil terrorists receive in India. The author says there are safehouses in Tamil Nadu for guerillas and for a banned publication, and some of these establishments are openly supported by Indian politicians casting anxious glances at local Tamil voting strength. The guerillas have also been recruiting mercenaries who formerly were members of India's armed forces. For several years bloodthirsty factionalism among various terrorist groups has been the chief limitation. The author explains the groups' efforts to achieve some degree of unity before Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene visits the United States in June. That trip is expected to result in the provision of new weapons for the beleaguered government.

India, A Statistical Outline, Seventh Edition, 1984. Calcutta: Indian Oxygen, 1984. 210 pp.

An easy-to-use tabular portrait of India for the current year. This is the reference for the person who seeks highly specific or eclectic data, such as how many jeeps are registered in Andhra Pradesh, how many biweekly Tamil publications serve the nation, how many lakhs/crores of rupees does the central plan expect to spend in Tripura next year, and how does India rank internationally in per capita calorie consumption. These and numerous other figures are laid out in discreet, clearly-labelled tables. Some material comes from the 1980 census and some is more recent. The introduction is the only text. (tables)

Jafar, Ghani. "The Tamil Factor: Genesis and Prospects of the Indian Stake in Sri Lanka." Regional Studies, vol. II (Spring 1984), p. 25.

The author, who is associated with the Institute of Regional Studies in Islamabad, uses public documents and sources to chart the history of Tamil subjection in Sri Lanka and India's response. Of special merit is his concise description of Gandhi's clever usurpation of an issue which has attracted massive public attention in a state where her party does not hold power. The prime minister's actions have won the support of the opposition-controlled Tamil Nadu government, and led to a bipartisan understanding of India's special role in the human problems of neighboring nations. The author examines the difference between the current Indian doctrine and that used during the Bangladesh crisis. The Sri Lanka situation, according to the author, is unprecedented in that India has taken an active interest on behalf of overseas Indians for the first time. (notes)

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"People's President." India Today, 15 April 1984, p. 56.

Gianni Zail Singh, the nation's first Sikh president, has made a dramatic break with the past in the way he fulfills the duties of his ceremonial office. "The Gianni" carries out his mandate in a highly personal manner, attending the weddings and funerals of Indians who have never before seen a president, holding a day-long open house every Tuesday, and visiting towns and villages with enthusiastic good humor. The response has been overwhelming: he receives volumes of mail and is widely revered. A 46-year Congress-I stalwart, and a Sikh who publicly opposes the use of holy buildings for political sanctuary, Zail Singh maintains his active schedule as a way around the official lack of power in his position. However, the article concludes with the prediction that future Indian presidents will be obliged to carry on the tradition of openness and personal contact which the current president has created.

Ram, Mohan. "The Price of Freedom." Far Eastern Economic Review, 1 March 1984, p. 56.

India has not given up dreams of self sufficiency in nuclear energy, even though the road has been strewn with obstacles. Ram sets out the step-by-step redesign of the program in the wake of various major complications. He details the current uncertainty over importing heavy water necessary to commission several new plants. The article is a good one-page inventory of what is on-line in terms of nuclear power, what is in progress, and what lessons India has learned from relentless pursuit of this elusive goal.

Rizvi, Hasan-Askari. "Problems and Prospects of South Asian Regional Cooperation." Regional Studies, vol. II (Spring 1984), p. 13.

Lays out the recent history of bilateral and multilateral efforts to improve regional cooperation, and suggests a few elements which will be necessary for such endeavors to succeed. The author strongly supports the gradualist approach which places increased informal cooperation ahead of the development of institutional mechanisms for governmental coordination. However, in those negotiations which have begun, especially the Indo-Pak No War/Treaty

of Friendship talks, the author concludes that even when announced goals are not met, the intense communication involved benefits the region's longterm prospects for cooperation. This article is a useful introduction to its subject omitting details of various exchanges but missing none of the essential points or processes.

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. "Charismatic Growth." India Today, 15 April 1984, p. 64.

One of India's most prominent political commentators recently visited several districts of Andhra Pradesh to examine the party-building strategies of the young Telegu Desam Party. Telegu Desam began as a following of the charismatic film star N. T. Rama Rao, who is now Chief Minister of the State. After elections, Rama Rao sends his candidates, winners and losers alike, to write reports in the constituencies they have just canvassed. In government policy, Telegu Desam aims to create a new rural administrative structure in which each unit covers fewer villages than under the former plan. The whole process is modelled on strategies of the Left Front government of West Bengal, which is headed by the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M). Communists in Andhra approve of Rama Rao's schemes, but fault him for not consulting them. Congress-I, on the other hand, feels the new structures could break the patronage patterns on which it relies. Rama Rao is one of the leaders of the opposition coalition which Mrs. Gandhi must face in this year's national elections, and one of the big questions in Indian politics is his ability to transform his personal following into an institutional party.

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. "For Better or Worse." India Today, 31 March 1984, p. 79.

After the change of leadership in the Soviet Union, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov paid a 6-day visit to New Delhi in order to confirm the course of Indo-Soviet relations. Although the talks dealt primarily with political matters, the 55-man delegation probably reached agreement with its hosts on the provision of new Soviet military equipment to India. Ustinov carried a brief from the collective leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and blamed the US for raising the arms level in the world. He declared that the Soviet Union has elevated its military capability to match the US escalation, and that if India's oil supply were threatened by American action in the Strait of Hormuz, Soviet assistance would be available. Mrs. Gandhi expressed considerable sympathy for the Soviet's explanation of the world situation, although she did disagree about some regional matters. Sen Gupta concludes that the visit significantly upgraded Indo-Soviet ties.

Thornton, Thomas Perry. "The USSR and Asia in 1983: Staying the Brezhnev Course." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (January 1984), p. 1.

Summarizes 1983's events as a continuation of Soviet attempts to avoid its encirclement on their Asian borders, a danger which was dramatized for Moscow by President Reagan's trip to Korea and Japan. The Soviets worked for better relations with China while increasingly criticizing Japan as an independent defense actor rather than "an American stooge". Thornton lists several gestures by which the Soviets demonstrated the importance they attach to India's ascendant position in their Asian security system, and emphasizes

the decline which brought Soviet-Pakistani relations to their lowest point in 10 years. Thornton says the Soviets are doing little better than simply hanging on in Afghanistan, but probably did not expect any more than that. This article is a comprehensive and thought-provoking attempt to estimate Soviet perceptions in the region.

Thukral, Govind. "Playing with Fire." India Today, 15 April 1984, p. 50.

Four months after he issued an appeal for support to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, Akali Dal leader Harchand Singh Longowal has been charged with sedition. At the same time, the central government moved against the All India Sikh Students Association (AISSA), whose leaders had already gone into hiding in anticipation of such a step. Longowal also remains free, as do other agitators, while Sikh moderates languish behind bars. The government's inability to invoke its already tardy legal options points out the corner it is in. The charge against Longowal does seem to have had one ironic effect: even his extremist rival Sant Jarnail Singh Bindhranwale was forced to express support for actions which he had previously condemned as too accommodating.

Williams, Geoffrey. Global Defence: Motivation and Policy in a Nuclear Age. New Delhi: Vikas, (cl984). 366 pp.

The 9th chapter of this book takes a practical look at "India's Defence Thinking." The author provides an integrated analysis of the military and diplomatic tools which the Indians have combined to defend themselves, with particular attention to the arms acquisition relationship established with the Soviet Union. The author identifies several types of military aircraft and comments on their role in Indian strategies, emphasizing that since 1962 India has worked to achieve a solid defense wall in the Himalayas, and to maintain the capability to wage a two-front war in the north. William discusses the necessity for the Indian nuclear capability as a deterrent in the face of Chinese expansionism. (bibliography, glossary, index)

NEPAL

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